

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[161]

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. WARDLE.—In my last, I had merely time just to notice the Debate in the City of London, and to insert the Resolutions. I shall now offer a few remarks upon the subject.—It would be absurd to feel surprise at any attempt to impose upon the public, on the part of those, whose plunder, after having been so long quietly enjoyed, is now in jeopardy, and who must know, that, unless they succeed in blinding and alarming the public, that plunder must and will be taken from them. It is an old saying, “that light come—light go;” but, this only applies as to the manner of expending; it does not mean, that those who get their money lightly, are easily induced to return it to its right owners. Who ever saw a thief willing to give up what he had stolen, or less anxious than other men to keep possession of his goods?—The speculators, therefore, and public robbers of every description (and a tribe of no small number are they) are, in attacking Mr. Wardle, doing no more than every reasonable man must expect them to do; and, if Mr. Wardle was not prepared for hostility of this sort; of all the sorts that he has met with, and of every sort that public-robbery, fighting for its life, is capable of resorting to, he was not, and is not, fit for the undertaking upon which he has entered, and which was of no use at all, unless it proceeded on to those effects, which would naturally lead to a state of desperation in the speculators. Nor ought he to feel any thing like *anger* against them for their attempts against him; for all their misrepresentations and calumnies, and all the base arts they have resorted to. Their speculations and robberies of various descriptions, indeed, these were, and still are, well calculated to excite his anger; but, *anger* is not the feeling to entertain against them for their conduct towards him, which conduct is, really, no more than a very natural endeavour at self-preservation. We feel anger against the house-breaker, when he disturbs our quiet and puts us in fear for our lives; but, when at the last scene, even though

[162]

he had murdered one of the most near and dear to us, we should not feel *anger* at seeing him, by an attempt to loose his arms, signify a wish to slacken the death-doing cord. We may, indeed, be unmoved to compassion by the convulsive movements of the wicked caitiff; we may say, “thou hast thy due, and the world “is well rid of thee:” we may be glad to see justice done upon the wretch; but, I take it, it is, at such a moment, unnatural to feel *anger*. In cases where the punishment, actual or approaching, is less severe and awful, there is not, indeed, so efficient a cause for the quenching of anger; but, it is pretty clear, that the day cannot be very distant, when *public robbery*, of all sorts and sizes, will be punished; when, from its present enjoyments, it will be reduced to poverty and rags; and when, even by those whom it now impoverishes, it will be kicked about the streets and into the kennel. This being the case; this being its evident doom, ought Mr. Wardle to be *angry* at its efforts to take revenge on him, who is notoriously one of its most formidable, if not its most formidable, enemy? Indifference, contempt, scorn, he may feel; but, to feel *anger* against it, as such a time, is neither becoming his character nor the character of his cause; which cause, in spite of all that can be done by its enemies, and even by its injudicious friends, must prevail. Nothing can prevent this. The *time* may be made more or less distant; but, prevail the cause must. *Events* are working for it. It depends not upon the intrigues of this faction or that faction. It does not depend even upon the opinions of the public. It depends upon events, which, if it be wanted, will make a public sentiment. Events will point, and *compel*, a reform of abuses of all sorts; and that man must, I think, be blind indeed, who does not see those events fast approaching. Why, then, should those who, like Mr. Wardle, are labouring in the public cause; why should such a man fret at the calumnies that are heaped upon him? If such were not the case, he might be sure, that he merited not the praises which have been bestowed upon him. Such calumnies are the proof, and, indeed,

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the only *indubitable* proof, of a man's power and will to assist in the destruction of public robbery. Look at the scare-crow. It has all the appearance of an enemy of the winged depredators; but, when a living man comes to the spot, you see the difference in the two by the terror which the latter excites in the thieving flock, who, in a moment, are all in commotion and uproar. It is so with the public robbers, than whom no animals in the creation are more sagacious in discovering their real from their seeming enemies.—Hence their implacable hatred against Sir Francis Burdett, for which, to superficial observers, there appears not sufficient cause. Many of them have had much more bitter enemies, to all appearance; much more boisterous, more violent, and more persevering assailants; but, still, they appear never to have cordially hated them; or, if they did, their hatred was not of long duration; there was in it nothing partaking of that fiend-like hatred which they entertain towards Sir Francis, who, by the wives and children of provincial peculators, is looked upon as a sort of savage, living upon the carcasses of murdered gentlefolks, or, at least, upon raw meat and wild roots.—There is a very solid reason for this hatred. They know, that Sir Francis's enmity to them is not a *sham*. They know it to be real. They know that it is out of their power either to drive him or to seduce him from it. They know that there is no safety for them while he is alive. In short, they hate him for the same reasons that all mankind hate pain and death. Would it not, then, argue great weakness in him, if he were to feel *anger* at them on account of this hatred?—No, no; anger is not the feeling that becomes any man so situated. He has no reason to be angry on his own account, because the hostility, which he experiences, he himself has provoked. Quite properly provoked, indeed; but still he cannot reasonably be angry with those who spit their venom at him, and who would not have done so if he had suffered them to be quiet. It is right, and it is a duty, to crush and destroy the viper, if you come athwart him; but, if, while you are endeavouring to destroy him, he should endeavour to fix his poisonous tooth in you, you could not, in reason, blame him; and, to say nothing of the folly of it, to be angry with him would really argue a want of common justice.—For these reasons it is, that I could have wished, in the

speeches of Mr. GOODBHERE and Mr. WAITHMAN, every thing omitted, which seems to have been dictated by *angry* feelings. It is not for us, who see, as clear as daylight, the swift approach of the fall of our and our country's worst enemies; it is not for us to be angry. The day of their fall cannot be at a great distance. The day of the restoration of the constitution; the day of the confusion and destruction of infamous corruptions cannot be far off; it must be at hand; we want it to come; we see it coming, and, therefore, why should we be angry.—The Debate in the COMMON COUNCIL of London, the whole of which, from the STATESMAN Evening Paper, I have inserted below, in order, not only to add to the width of its circulation, but to put it more safely upon record than it could have been in any of those publications which never assume the shape of a book; this Debate is of as great consequence as any one that I remember ever to have read. It is, in my opinion, of infinitely more importance to this nation, than will be, or can be, the operations of the *Grand Expedition*. The latter may destroy the ships and arsenals at ANTWERP; but, the former *has* made thousands and hundreds of thousands of Englishmen think rightly upon a great point in politics, wherein they were before deceived. The ships and arsenals at Antwerp are not worth one of the topics of Mr. Goodbhere's or Mr. Waithman's speech; for, after all, what is it we are fighting for? What is it that this army and the other army and all the ships of war are employed in hostilities for? There may be people, who have other views of the matter; but, in my view of it, if they are not employed for, or, if their employment does not tend towards, the preserving, or restoring the freedom of England; that is to say, the full enjoyment, on the part of the people, of their *property* as well as their personal liberty; if the employment of our fleets and armies has not *this tendency*, my view of the matter is, that their employment is much worse than useless; and, this being the great purpose for which all rational men must wish to see fleets and armies employed, I have no scruple in saying that the proceedings in the Common Council are of more importance to the nation, than are, or can be, the operations of the *Grand Expedition*.—Seldom has there appeared, in that way, any thing more complete than the Speeches above mentioned. They em-

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brace, as the reader will see, every topic; nothing, bearing the semblance of argument, is left unanswered; every trick, every falsehood, every attempt at deception, is exposed. Two correspondents, to whose letters it was my wish to attend this week, will have the goodness to excuse the delay; for, there is nothing that appears to me of so much importance as these Speeches. They have, perhaps, been read by every body in the country; but, they should be read again, and should be frequently referred to.—To these Speeches there is nothing to add by way of observation on the conduct of Mr. Wardle, which, with men of sense, never stood in need of any justification. One or two instances, however, of the impudence, of the sheer, barefaced impudence, of those who, upon the recent occasion, have assailed Mr. Wardle, I cannot help again noticing. They inveigh most bitterly against Mr. Wardle's *purchasing*, as they call it, the evidence of Mrs. Clarke against the Duke of York. They take it for granted, that he *did promise* to pay for the goods, and that this was one of the conditions, upon which she was to give her evidence; and this they call *bribery*. Now, unless they agree, that what she said against the Duke of York was *true*, they cannot pretend that she ought to be believed against Mr. Wardle: and, if they do agree to this, then it was, upon their own confession, the *truth* that Mr. Wardle promised to give her goods for speaking. Their charge, then, amounts to this, that he promised to give her something, or, which is the same thing, did give her, something in order to induce her to give *true* evidence against the Duke of York as to the manner in which, in certain cases, the public's commissions, or the public's money, were disposed of. And, is this matter of *accusation*? I put this case before to Mr. Windham, whether a man would not be blamed, and, indeed, called a *traitor*, if, having it in his power, he were not, if necessary, to promise, or to give, money to a person to get possession of proof of a *conspiracy against the life of the king*? Would it, in such a case, be called "*bribery*" to give money for the obtaining of such proof? If, indeed, a man, in order to gratify his political malice, or his passions of any sort, were to give, or promise, money or goods to an ignorant wretch to give *false* evidence, and were to burden the poor-creature's conscience by the catechising of a double-distilled knave

of a pettifogger, granting to the said pettifogger a share in the plunder to be extorted; if such were the conduct of a man, he would merit universal execration; or, rather (which would be the more appropriate punishment) he would deserve to be confined for life to the society of the said pettifogger and his half-famished race; but, what Mr. Wardle gave his money for, if he did give any, was the *truth*. This his assailants are obliged to allow; because, if they do not, they discredit the testimony of Mrs. Clarke altogether, and that does not *now* suit their purpose. But, what must be the impudence of these hirelings, who affect to regard it as a scandalous act in Mr. Wardle to have given, or promised to give, money or goods, to obtain the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, when the law holds out to every man of us the promise of money, if we will, in certain cases, inform against one another. You pay me five pounds, for instance; I give you a receipt without a stamp upon it; and, the legislature offers me twenty pounds if I will inform against you for having taken the said unstamped receipt. What impudence, then, must that man have, who pretends, and who asserts it in print, that a man is guilty of "*bribery*," who gives money to a person to become a witness, in behalf of the public, against a person employed and paid by that public? But, as has uniformly been the case, these hirelings always proceed as it were upon a settled maxim, that nothing is foul, nothing is unfair, nothing is ungenerous, that is employed by the government against the people; but, that every thing is ungenerous, unfair, foul, and treacherous, that any one employs against a public functionary, in behalf of the people; insolence so gross as which never was offered with impunity to any other civilized people upon earth.—It is worthy of general remark, and it is especially worthy of the remark of the *Royal Family*, that the papers, commonly called *ministerial*, and particularly the *Courier*, which was amongst the loudest, if not the very loudest, in praise of Mr. Wardle, as long as his efforts were directed *exclusively against the Duke of York*, turned round and assailed him the moment he intimated his resolution to *direct those efforts into other departments*; and, especially when he joined the *standard of Parliamentary Reform*. This fact, which was too evident and too striking to escape any body, ought to be had in remembrance. The truth is, that

this, and several other of the newspapers, appear to have been very well pleased at the attacks of Mr. Wardle, so long as they bore upon the royal family, or any part of it; and, in this respect, these writers are by no means singular, it being evidently the object of no small number of people, to keep that family as much in the shade as possible, the motive for which is very clearly explained in the Speech of Sir Francis Burdett upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform.—Mr. Wardle should, I repeat it; nay, in justice to himself and the public, he must develop the history of the *Suppression of Mrs. Clarke's Book*; let the people of this country know *who paid the money for that suppression*; who was the agent or *negociator*; and *what were the conditions*.—The rumour is too general; nay it has been positively stated, in these very newspapers, that the Book was suppressed, in consequence of the payment of money to Mrs. Clarke; that money is stated at £7,000 down, and the worth of eight or ten thousand in annuities upon herself and relations. This has been distinctly stated in these newspapers; and, as we know what the Book was *advertised* to contain, it must be of vast public importance to know the history of the suppression; the whole history of it from the beginning to the end.—Those who affect to discover, in the late Trial, great cause for blaming Mr. Wardle, will hardly deny, that they were *truths*, which Mrs. Clarke meant to publish in her book. I say, *they will now hardly suppose*, that this their *non-pareil of a witness AGAINST Mr. Wardle* had put together a bundle of *falsehoods and forgeries* and sent them to the press. No; they will not suppose this. They must suppose, that she had got *truths* in the press; and, besides, if they were not truths, why were they bought at such a price? Nobody would have given such a price for the suppression of falsehoods. However, our antagonists may take their choice. It shall be, if they like it, a book full of *forgeries* that were suppressed, and then, what becomes of the *excellence* of their witness against Mr. Wardle; for, no one would certainly place much reliance upon a person who had come reeking from the occupation of putting together a book full of forgeries. Well, then, let them be *truths*, if they choose; but, then, let them remember, that the means had been found, by the new negociators with Mrs. Clarke, to prevail upon her to *suppress* these truths. So,

they must have her in one or the other of these characters; a *compiler of forgeries*, or a *suppressor of truths*; and that, too, for the sake of money. To leave no doubt, however, as to my own opinion upon this point, I must say, that I am fully convinced, that what she had prepared for publication, and sent to the press, was *perfectly authentic*. Strictly speaking, I do not think she had, after what had passed, a *right* to suppress the book, which suppression did, as I observed at the time, argue a great want of principle; but, she had rendered the country great services (services which will always be acknowledged by me), and, if the suppression gave her means of future happiness, that, to me, was some consolation for the loss of the book. Now, however, when she has become a witness against Mr. Wardle, and when she has become, too, his assailant in print (where, by the bye, she does not cut much of a figure); in short, when it is evident, that, if possible, she is to be made the instrument of undoing all the good, which, through her means, has been done; when this is obviously the case, it is above all things important to ascertain and expose the *source* and the *channel*, whence and through which came the means that produced the suppression of the Book. Let no one tell me, that this is a *private* concern. It will not do to tell me that, who see the ministerial papers giving an account of what passes between me and my servants. No: this is no *private* matter. The Book was *advertised* as being in the press; its contents (all of a public nature) were pretty fully described; those contents are now *public property*; and, if we have them not, let us know, at least, *who* it was that paid for their suppression. One of the papers afore-mentioned has observed, "that these contents relate merely to *family* matters, and are of no public consequence whatever." What! pay twenty thousand pounds, perhaps, for the suppression of a few *family anecdotes*? Oh, no! It never can be. It is impossible, that the anecdotes of any family can be worth so much money. But, at any rate, what harm is there in our knowing, *who* it was that paid the money, and *who* it was that conducted the negotiation? These facts are necessary. These facts, with which, one would think, Mr. Wardle must be acquainted, he owes to the public and to his own character, it being quite impossible, that we should see the real source of the machinations against him,

until we see the source of those means which procured the suppression of Mrs. Clarke's Book; therefore, again and again I say, let us have the history of this suppression. Though the Book be suppressed, or, at least, *kept out of sight for a while*; though we cannot read the book, we shall be able to draw all the useful conclusions, when we know precisely who *paid the money* and who made the bargain.

SPAIN.—Whatever degree of regret the defeat of the Austrians may be calculated to excite, it is attended with this one agreeable circumstance, namely, that, in all probability, it will occasion what so many persons have ardently wished for, a rencontre between Buonaparté and our *Indian Conqueror*, who, if the newspapers be correct, has, at last, set off for the Southern Peninsula, accompanied with his brother, famed in diplomatic lore in the East.—It will be a day of great and awful expectation, when these two great Captains meet. Napoleon has been accustomed to combat against inferiors; but, here is conqueror for conqueror. Our conqueror has conquered as many countries, I believe, and as much territory and as many inhabitants as Napoleon has ever conquered. "The Conqueror of the East," as he is called in Leadenhall Street, is now (thank God!) about to meet the Conqueror of the West face to face. Yet, some how or other, I do not perceive, amongst "the loyal," any of those exultations that one might have expected upon an occasion of such promise. They do not seem in feather. They are much more modest than I have ever known them. One thing is certain, that, if we do not beat Napoleon now, we may give the thing up, as far, at least, as relates to land operations; for, we have possession of the country before him; we can do what we please with the government there; we have the positive assurance of the king's declaration, that the "universal Spanish nation" is upon our side; and we have all the heroism and all the talents of all the Wellesleys to conduct our affairs, diplomatic as well as military. Now, then, we shall see who wins the day. We shall, I trust, listen to no *excuses* of any sort. We have an abundance and a superabundance of time for preparation. Napoleon has been obliged to leave the country for nearly eight months. It will, in all likelihood, be two months more before he will be able to re-enter Spain. We have had time sufficient, and more than sufficient, for sending troops,

warlike stores, cloathing, horses, and every thing necessary for war upon a large scale; plenty of time for forming the "universal Spanish nation" into regiments and armies; plenty of time for training a million of them to arms; and, in short, it will be impudence without example, if we should pretend that we have wanted time for any thing. Let the nation fix its eyes upon this scene, of far more importance than that upon the Scheldt, and let us take care to bear in mind, what the hireling prints *now* give us as the state of Spain. They tell us that king Joseph, when the last advices came away, was deliberating, whether he should *defend*, or *abandon* Madrid, upon the approach of the joint force of the Spaniards and the English; that Cuesta and "the gallant Sir Arthur" were driving Victor before them; that Soult's army was reduced to *five thousand* men; and, in short, that there was every reason to suppose, that the remains of the French would soon be compelled to flee from Spain, or to lay down their arms.—I beseech the reader to bear this in mind. This is the state, in which they tell us, that Lord Wellesley will find Spain. Now, then, if Buonaparté is not beaten out of Spain; if he now conquers Spain; if, after this, he becomes master of it, how shall we find the face to talk of what we are able to do against him upon land?—What, if we had pursued the right plan, might not have been done with this country! If we had acted upon that advice, which I gave, and which was given, with so many additional and such forcible reasons, by the Edinburgh Reviewers, Spain would, at this moment, have presented a forest of bayonets to the breasts of the French. But, who did not foresee, that if war was to be made for Ferdinand; if it was to be a contest for *a choice of kings*, and nothing more; who did not foresee, that, in such case, the advantage would all be upon the side of him, who presented the people with *a change*? Every man in his senses must have foreseen this; but, it was resolved, that we should, at any rate, make war for *a king*; and, in all human probability the consequence naturally to be expected will take place.—We are always talking about what Buonaparté does *against* such and such nations, never appearing to perceive, that he does any thing *for* them; but, in order to come to a correct opinion of what is likely to be the disposition of the people towards Buonaparté, we ought to inquire whether he

does any thing to *please* them, any thing for their *good*. Now, it is quite shameful for us, who have, in language so bitter and abusive, been so long writing and preaching against the *Spanish Inquisition*; for us, whose priests have made this terrible institution a topic of never-ending attack on the Roman Catholic religion; it is shameful, it is quite scandalous for us to affect not to perceive, that this institution, which we pretended to hold in such horror, and which *we made no effort to abolish*, has been abolished by *Buonaparté*. Next, there are all our out-cries against *Monkery*; all our philippics against that nest of Drones; all our various writings about their impostures, their frauds, and the numerous evils, civil as well as political, produced by their existence. Well, Buonaparté has dispersed two-thirds of these in Spain; he has done away two-thirds of this enormous evil; and, yet, we affect not to perceive it; and we have the miserable and bootless hypocrisy to appear quite astonished, that the people of Spain do not rise as one man to assassinate the French, and to demand the restoration of their former king!—The falsehoods that are told us about Spain are so palpable, that one would think it impossible for them to deceive any human being; but, really, if we can believe these falsehoods, we ought to be deceived and defrauded, and *ought*, in the end, to suffer all the consequences of our folly. What *proof* have we ever had of any zeal that the people of Spain feel in the cause, for which *we* are fighting? Can any man produce us one single *fact* in support of all the assertions relative to this zeal? If he can, let us hear him; but, until then, we may safely conclude, that there is not the shadow of a foundation for such assertions.—How long are we to be duped in this way? Though we see the Emperor Napoleon leaving nothing but a sort of *detachment* of his army in Spain, we see the joint forces of England and the Junta kept in awe by the French, and gaining, in the course of eight months, little or no ground upon them; and all this in the heart of Spain, the French being still in possession of the capital: though we have these facts clearly before our eyes, still are we insulted with the assertions, that the *people* of Spain, that the *eleven millions* of people, who inhabit Spain, mortally hate the French, and are enthusiastic in the cause of England and Ferdinand the Seventh! How long are we thus to be insulted! Are we to go on in this way even unto the end of the chap-

ter? I rather think we shall; for, though there is, in the country, quite knowledge and discernment enough to detect these falsehoods; yet, such is the chain of dependence, so firmly rivetted are the far greater part of the community, to the taxing and funding system, that they endeavour to stifle the dictates of their own senses, and, by dint of perseverance, they, at last, succeed in the self-delusive and self-destructive task. This is well known to the artful wretches, whose business it is to dress up and serve out the never-ending series of falsehoods which disgrace the public press and the nation at large; and, yet, while this is going on amongst ourselves; while it is as notorious as the existence of light or air, our public prints have the assurance, the cool and unconscionable impudence, to accuse the French press of publishing *garbled translations of English documents*. This is very decent on the part of those prints, who plead guilty to the suppressing of *twenty two documents out of twenty seven*; this is very decent in those prints, which never gave a fair translation of any one French document, wherein our *royal family*, or the *ministers*, were named; but, which, upon such occasions, have uniformly suppressed such passages, under the pretence that they were *personal* and *abusive*; this is very decent in those prints, which constantly omit all those parts of the French bulletins, which contain any fact calculated to produce an impression favourable to the character of our enemy. I do not pretend to decide the question, whether *all* of every such document ought to be translated and published, though, for my part, if I were compelled to choose, I should not hesitate a moment in saying, "*publish all*;" but, of this I am quite sure, that, while we omit part of the French documents, upon the ground of their being *personal* against our king, his family, or ministers, it is to discover a most scandalous disregard for justice to endeavour to excite a belief of a *tyranny's* prevailing in France, merely because the prints there omit those parts of our documents that are *personal* against Napoleon. I remember, that, when, in answer to some of our official accusations against Buonaparté, in which he was roundly charged with *usurpation* in France, and with being a *foreigner*, at the same time, he made some very ugly and unmannerly remarks, those remarks were omitted in the translations made by *our prints*. And, shall we, then; shall these same prints of ours, upon the

ground of similar omissions in the French prints, argue, that there is a grinding despotism existing in that country? They might, for me, if it were not, that it was a source of most dangerous deception, leading us to hope for some aid, on a future day, at least, from *discontents prevailing in France*, which discontents exist no where but in the wishes of the enemies of Napoleon.—It never can be too often repeated, that there is no ground for such hope, or at least, that there has not appeared the smallest proof of it.

THE EXPEDITION.—I had resolved never to write a word upon this subject; but, really, when one considers the *magnitude* of the thing, it would argue a species of political contumely to pass over its existence, in silence, and to leave thereof no trace whatever in a work entitled a Political Register.—On the supposition that it may be a subject of a future day, I will first give a succinct history of it, and then offer some reflections as to the end it appears, and is said, to have in view, proportioned to the means it contains.—It is now nearly about *two months* since the troops began to collect in order to be embarked on this undertaking. The Expedition sailed from our shores on different days; but, the time of its sailing may be considered to have been the 28th of July. Its achievements will, of course, be recorded in the proper place amongst the OFFICIAL PAPERS; and, therefore, I shall now proceed to put upon record an account of its *strength*, which, according to the best information that I am able to obtain, is as follows:—

LAND FORCES.		MEN.
Cavalry - - - - -		2,600
Artillery - - - - -		3,000
Guards - - - - -		2,878
Infantry of the line - - - - -		34,982
Waggon-train - - - - -		140
Staff - - - - -		100
		43,700

NAVAL FORCE.		
44 Ships of the line averaging 600 men - - - - -		26,400
60 Frigates and Brigs, averaging 200 men - - - - -		21,000
150 Armed Cutters, Revenue and Excise Cutters and Gun Brigs, averaging 40 men -		6,000
600 Transports, averaging 16 men - - - - -		6,600

Total number of Men - - 103,700

CANNONS.

44 Ships of the line at 74 each	3,256
60 Frigates and Brigs at 36 each	2,160
150 Cutters and Gun Brigs at 8 each - - - - -	1,200

Total number of Cannon, exclusive of field-pieces - - - 6,616

This, then, is the amount of the force; 103,700 men, 854 ships of war and transports, and 6,616 pieces of heavy cannon! Where are now the Morning Chronicle and his clamorous brethren, who complain of *want of vigour* in the present ministry?—Now, as to the end compared with these means, if, as is said to be the case, the Expedition is destined to *destroy thirteen ships of war*, built by Napoleon at Antwerp (and the building of ships there, was until the eve of the Expedition a subject of *ridicule* with our news-papers;) if this be the object of the Expedition, it must be confessed, that the means are quite sufficient for the purpose, or, at least, sufficiently *expensive*. The bare *provisioning* of the Expedition, the bare *food*, at the stated allowance, will cost more than 10,000*l.* a day; the hire of the transports will cost 6,000*l.* a day more; and, this is not nearly *half* the expence; so that supposing the ships to be all seventy-fours, and to have cost a thousand pound a gun, the expence of our armament already amounts to twice as much as the said 13 ships are worth.—But, there are some persons, who, so far from expecting *more* than the destruction of these vessels to be accomplished, appear to be quite satisfied with *what is already done*; and are even afraid, that for want of that astonishing foresight, prudence, caution, and wisdom, so visible in most of the officers, lately employed in Basque Roads, our Expedition may, possibly, attempt too much, and, thereby, be “*annoyed*,” instead of coming back safe, sound, and unruffled.—Now, in order to remove all alarm from the minds of such persons, we have only to take a little closer view of the comparative magnitude of our force. The Island of Walcheren, the whole of which we have, by this time, captured, is said to be about 8 or 9 miles in diameter, and, as its form is nearly circular, it is, of course, from 24 to 27 miles in circumference. Now, the ships, which we have sent against it, taking them from the point of the bowsprit to that of the jib-boom, measure 22 miles, 5 furlongs, and 67 yards; so that, if they were tied fast

to one another, and placed all round the island, they would be within a very few yards of touching each other, and one might go round the island from deck to deck without the help of a boat.—That is one view of the thing. Another is, that our ships, if swung at anchor, would, with barely anchorage room enough, reach from England to Walcheren; and our men, if placed in a single rank, within arms length of one another, would reach from England to Walcheren, and round the island of Walcheren besides. The men, thus placed, would reach 124 English miles, consequently, if drawn up *three deep*, and in pretty close order, they would form a complete wall round the whole island!—Are there still those who entertain “apprehensions for the *safety* of our gallant army?” Come, then, let us set their hearts at rest. To such persons be it known, that the population of Walcheren, the whole of the population, men, women, and children, is stated at 20,000. This being the case, the enemy might, upon a pinch, supposing us to lose all our arms and ammunition, and not to possess any other mode of destruction, the enemy might, I say, be *eaten* in the space of about five or six days, as will appear most satisfactorily from the following calculation. Our men are allowed, each day, 1 lb. of meat, 1 lb. of bread, and about a couple of pounds of peas, butter, &c. besides cocoa or burgoo. Taking their food, therefore, at 4 lb. a man each day, the total weight eaten a day would be 414,800 lbs. And, if we take the inhabitants at 100 lb. each, children and all, one with another, it will be seen, that the total of their weight (2,000,000 lbs.) falls considerably short of that of the weight of *five day's eatables* for the soldiers and sailors employed by us in this expedition.—What might be done, if necessary, in the way of spoiling the harvest of the Walchereners, by shutting out the sun from their fields with the canvass of our ships, I cannot take upon me precisely to ascertain; but, my opinion decidedly is, that the whole of the *wheat* fields, at least (supposing the Walchereners to sow in our proportions) might be ruined in that way; and, certain I am, that we have, in this Expedition, a sufficiency of cordage to tie up and bring off *in tow*, every thing standing upon the face of the earth in the island.—Hush your fears, then, you who entertain “apprehensions” for the safety of the army, or the fleet, as long, I mean, as they confine themselves to the island of

Walcheren. I beg you to mind that; for, the moment they set their foot upon the main land, there my calculations cease. I can beat the Walchereners by computation; I can beat them either by measurement or by weight; but, if you get me upon the continent, my arithmetic is done for.—As the ministers must have had the means of *ascertaining* the situation of the Scheldt, from its mouth to Antwerp, it is not probable, I think, that, *with such a force*, the destruction of the ships and arsenal can fail, especially if, as is said to be the case, the French have no army, of any consequence, near the spot. But, mercy on us! does *such an enterprize* demand *such a force*? To take a place like Flushing, and the island on which it stands, used to be a service for a line of battle ship, a frigate, a sloop or two, and a couple of battalions of soldiers. It is, however, agreed, that this is only a *preliminary* step; but, if such a service as the destruction of the ships in the Scheldt and the arsenal at Antwerp, if such a service requires such a force, and that, too, at a time when Napoleon's armies are *all* engaged elsewhere, what is to become of us, when he has settled the affairs of the continent?—This port of Antwerp is of very great importance, I know; but, we can do no more than just demolish the ships and works? We cannot destroy the immense forests, whence the ship timber comes; nor can we by such destruction, greatly retard the progress of Napoleon in forming a navy. It is good to destroy these ships and this arsenal; very good; but the means are, beyond all bounds, too large. It is evident, that, if it requires such means to effect such an object, we must be beaten in the end.—The news-papers, calling themselves Opposition papers, affect to believe, that the ministers have sent out this superabundant force, in order to render failure impossible, lest by a failure *they should lose their places*. Oh, no! This makes no part of their motive. They kept their places safely enough in spite of the fate of the Expedition in *Spain*; in spite of such disgrace and calamity as was never before experienced by an army of any nation, in spite of such a routing, such confusion in flight, such havock and such destruction, that, from that day to this, I believe, no regular official return of the killed, wounded, and missing, has ever been published. Why, in spite of all this, the ministers had a majority of nearly two to one; aye, and

that, too, upon this very question of the Expedition to Spain. Need they, after that, fear that *any failure*, naval or military, will drive them from their places? They know better; and, therefore it is with no such view, that they have fitted out this immense force.—My opinion is, that they had what they thought a very fine game to play. They believed in the *reality of insurrections in the North of Germany*; and all the neatly-dished up stories about the “*gallant SCHILL*” (they are all *gallant* fellows who will fight on our side, as long as they remain on our side) and the “*gallant Duke of BRUNSWICK OELS*.” They seem to have believed all these, and for reasons too evident to mention, to have resolved upon a grand effort for *the recovery of Hanover*; which measure they combined, by the advice of Sir Home Popham (who I have heard, has always been a great advocate for an expedition against Walcheren) the present operations with that against the French in Hanover. The battle of Wagram, and the armistice, which immediately followed it, having defeated the project as far as related to Hanover, it remained either to do nothing at all, to reland all the facines and gabions and sand-bags, and (which would have been a very serious matter indeed) to *bulk* the ardent zeal of all the Staff and the Commissaries and the Quartermasters and the Paymasters and the Contractors, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. it remained, either to do this, or to make war upon Walcheren and Antwerp. As to the policy, or the *justice*, of an Expedition for the sake of the North of Germany, and particularly for *Hanover*, I shall leave those for the reader to discuss; but, the Expedition being prepared, it was, I think, right to employ it, especially as the objects now in view are, in themselves, really desirable. Therefore, I do not find fault with the magnitude of the force. It was intended for a greater purpose, and there is no harm in applying it to a less, especially as there appears to be not the smallest doubt of its success. It is, indeed, like setting a pack of hounds upon a rat. It cannot escape. The ships and arsenal must be destroyed, unless the *intention* were not to do it; and this we cannot believe.—Yet, if Buonaparté were to reach Antwerp himself, or if one of his Dukes were to reach it, with a strong body of men, I would not answer, that the en-

terprize would be wholly free from risk. They are a hard-hearted and bloody-minded race of men. They would not mind, the least in the world, sending John Earl of Chatham home again with what is called a *flea in his ear*. Yes, yes; if they should reach Antwerp first, and with a strong body of troops, I would not lay fifty to one that the object, small as it is, will be accomplished at all. Of one thing, however, we may be pretty certain, that Lord Chatham will take care to keep open his retreat; and, therefore, worst come to worst, there can be no danger of any *loss* on our part, especially if our naval men should be inspired by the example of those most prudent officers, the commanders off Basque Roads, who seem, from the evidence taken before the Court-Martial, lately held at Portsmouth, to have foreseen danger in all its shapes and sizes; to have been, in this respect, gifted with a sort of second-sight; to have had ocular intimacy with not-yet-existing evils, as pigs are said to see the rising wind.—Upon the whole, we may, I think, look forward with confidence to the destruction of the ships in the Scheldt and of the arsenal at Antwerp; but, any thing further, I, for my part, do not expect; and, as to our *keeping* the island of Walcheren, we can no more do it 'till next March, than we can get and keep Paris, which, at this time of day, even lord Liverpool will hardly think practicable, without at least, much more trouble than it would be worth while to take about it. The French can go over to this island *upon the ice*; and if they could not, the force constantly kept up there, and fed from England, must be very great indeed. Every stick of fuel must be carried from England. In short, it would take the revenue and produce of one of our counties to keep that little island for any length of time. That, therefore, is a project too mad, I think, to be thought of. With the destruction of the ships and the arsenal, and with the demolition of Flushing, we must content ourselves; but, upon the accomplishment of these objects we may, I think, safely rely.

NAVAL PRIZES.—A correspondent informs me, that the *Africaine* frigate, CAPT. MANBY, early in this war, sent in her boats to take or destroy all the large fishing-decked boats at DIEPPE; that they succeeded, brought 24 of them over to Portsmouth, and burnt as many more; “that, after long delay, the 24 were sold for 700

"pounds, out of which 600 pounds went in law and other charges; and that while one man of law got for the condemnation of each boat *nine pounds ten shillings*, the sailors, who were fired at by the French for five hours, did not get, for each, the price of a glass of grog."—It really is high time, that the ministers, or the parliament, or the king, or somebody having the power to do it, should make an alteration in these matters. What, in the name of common sense, prevents the establishing of a simple and prompt mode of decision in such cases? Why should there not, in war time, be a couple of commissioners at each of the ports, with power to examine the papers and decide at once, without *fee or reward*, being paid by the *public* and not by the parties having cases before them? This system of court-fees is a thing most hostile to justice. And, besides, is there common sense in making those who take prizes pay the judges and lawyers, when the money so paid takes from the inducement not only to do services by sea, but also from the inducement to enter the navy.—This is a subject of fearful importance to the nation, and especially at this time. And what is there that stands in the way of a reform of the abuse? Is there *any* man, no matter who he be, that will say, that the thing is *right*? Will any one say, that it is not *wrong*? Why, then, not amend it?

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Thursday, 10th August, 1809.

PROCEEDINGS of a SPECIAL COURT of COMMON COUNCIL of the CITY of LONDON. Held in consequence of a Notice of a MOTION given by Mr. JAMES DIXON, to RESCIND the VOTE of THANKS to Col. WARDLE, passed on the 6th of April last.

On Tuesday, the 1st of August, was held by summons from the Lord Mayor, a Special Court of Common Council, in consequence of a Requisition for that purpose signed by several Members of the Court. At half past 12 his lordship took the Chair, and shortly addressed the Meeting, by stating that the Members of the Court had been summoned by his direction, in consequence of the following Requisition:—

"My Lord;—We, the undersigned Members of the Court of Common Council, deeming it highly improper and de-

rogatory to the character of the Court, to suffer the Notice of a Motion to stand over, which proposes 'to rescind from the Journals of its proceedings, a Vote passed on the 6th of April last, after the fullest deliberation, expressing the thanks and gratitude of the Court to G. L. Wardle, esq. for the zeal, intrepidity and patriotism, which he so eminently evinced by exhibiting and substantiating serious charges against the late Commander in Chief,'—do hereby request your lordship to call, upon an early day, an especial Court of Common Council, for the purpose of considering the same."

[The Requisition being read, his lordship stated that he had received a letter from Mr. JAMES DIXON; a letter, the reading of which afforded no small degree of amusement to almost the whole Court.]

"New Bridge-street, 31st July 1809.

"My Lord Mayor;—I am much surprised at the summons your lordship has issued for a Special Court of Common Council, to be held to-morrow, to take into consideration the notice which I gave at the last Court, of my intention to bring forward, after the Recess, a motion to expunge from the Journals the Resolution of the Thanks of the Court, on the 6th of April last, to Mr. Wardle.—I did not at that time, nor do I wish at present, to preclude the party interested the opportunity of re-establishing himself in the good opinion of his fellow-citizens, by the appeal he intends to make to the justice of the country, in the prosecution he has publicly declared he will institute for Perjury, against the witnesses who were examined, on the part of the Plaintiff, in a recent Trial at Westminster.—As the interval of the Recess for which the Court of Common Council was, as usual, adjourned, will, as I understand, afford him that opportunity, I thought it right, under the circumstances in which the corporation was placed, by the Vote of Thanks, to give the notice, reserving to myself the alternative of bringing it forward at the first Court after the Recess, or not, intending, in that respect, to be guided altogether by the result of the prosecution for Perjury, if instituted.—I therefore beg leave to inform your lordship, that I shall not attend the Court on Tuesday. I am, my Lord, &c.

JAMES DIXON."

[The laughter occasioned by the general contents of this unique production having, after some short lapse of time, subsided,]

Mr. MILLER addressed the Court, and stated, that the author of the Letter that had been just read, and of the extraordinary notice that had on a former occasion been given of a motion to rescind the Vote of Thanks passed by that Court to col. Wardle, having thought proper to desert his post, he should himself take the liberty of moving, that the Vote of Thanks to col. Wardle should be expunged. Extraordinary as such a motion might from him appear, he deemed it his duty to bring it forward, with a view of bringing to immediate decision a question, which neither the dignity of that Court, nor the justice due to col. Wardle, could with any degree of propriety, after notice of such a motion, be suffered to hang in suspense at the pleasure or caprice of the gentleman with whom it originated. The propriety of this motion, abandoned, misshapen, and hideous as to ordinary capacities it might appear, he should leave to others to decide; but he could not help thinking that the desertion of its original author was an incontrovertible proof that he never did seriously intend to persevere in it; deserted, however, as it had now avowedly been, it was his determination to persevere in endeavouring to obtain the decision of the Common Council of the City of London on so important a question. But as in thus introducing the subject it was by no means his intention to become the parent of such an offspring, he should not enlarge upon a topic on which he felt so little satisfaction; and would, therefore, conclude by moving the following Amendment on the Resolution voting the Thanks of the Court to col. Wardle, passed by the Court on the 6th of April last.—“That the Court having, on the 6th of April last, voted to Mr. Wardle a gold box, with the freedom of the City, and their thanks for his zeal and integrity in the discharge of his duties as a member of parliament, and being convinced that that Vote had been improperly entered into, now resolved to expunge the same.”—The Amendment being read,

Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE addressed the Court:—My Lord Mayor, I lament not less that it should have become necessary to urge a decision of the question which has been created by the notice of a motion so extraordinary, than the necessity that was proved to have unhappily existed for that investigation, the result of which called forth the marked approbation of the conduct of col. Wardle, not

only by this Court, but by almost every public body throughout the kingdom: for to me I do confess this motion does appear to be most admirably calculated to lay prostrate before the good sense of the nation, the honour, the dignity, and the consistency of the Corporation of London, and I do maintain, that to effect such a purpose, no measure could have been more perfectly adapted, or more ingeniously contrived. Of the motives of the gentleman with whom the motion originated, I do not feel myself at liberty to enter upon an inquiry, and whatever may be my opinion on this point, that opinion I will not express; but I will say, that I think it would have added consistency, at least, to the character of the gentleman who has so gravely announced his determination to take no share in the proceedings of the Court this day, if he had boldly and manfully attended in person the discussion of that question, which he, and he alone, originally provoked. It does certainly appear to have been particularly incumbent on that gentleman to have attended in his place this day, in conformity to the summons of your lordship, and to have stated publicly the reasons by which he was induced to give a notice so extraordinary, of a motion so unprecedented. With respect to the suspension of any further proceeding on the notice that was given, until the presumed, or indeed merely alledged, impropriety of conduct in col. Wardle should have been decided, it appears to me that such delay were not less cruel than unjust, improper, and inconsistent with the impartiality and dignity of this Court; and I the more regret the absence of the worthy gentleman, from my utter incompetency to conjecture by what arguments a measure so irreconcilable with common sense and equal justice, could be attempted to be justified. To col. Wardle, who alone had the courage to institute the investigation, and the perseverance to bring it to that successful issue, for which he has received the Thanks of a great majority of the people of the United Kingdom, the entire merit of the result of that inquiry is unquestionably due, and for his great and meritorious exertions in that arduous undertaking, it is now incontestibly known, that he has received no consideration, or reward whatever; but that which his exalted and disinterested mind is fully capable of correctly appreciating, the sincere demonstration of the gratitude of his countrymen.

Col. Wardle had no secret purpose to answer, no private ends to gratify, and that he had no pecuniary motives, it is not possible even for the most strenuous defender of corruption to deny; for the very tendency of the accusations with which he has been assailed, is to shew that he has sacrificed not only his time but his fortune, by those patriotic and unexampled exertions which have rendered him not less the object of regard to the people, than of terror to those by whom they have so long been plundered. But, my Lord, I do hope and trust that we know how to estimate correctly the conduct of the man who has made these important sacrifices; who, influenced solely by motives of the purest patriotism, has been induced voluntarily to place himself in a public situation, most arduous, and of difficulty beyond all example; and as no circumstances have occurred since the Thanks of this Court were voted to col. Wardle, which can in the slightest degree lower him in the estimation or opinion of any fair and candid man, I think it is a duty that we owe to justice, to the country, and to ourselves, to give him our support, and thus manifest to the people of the United Kingdom, that we are not to be blindly, or tamely led away by the clamour and fury of an exasperated faction. By the adoption of that motion, we should be forging for ourselves chains and fetters, and finally must throw ourselves into the very midst of that vortex of corruption, which it is our professed and only object to annihilate. And to pass over in silence, and without decision, the extraordinary motion suggested by the notice of the worthy gentleman, would be productive of evil almost equal to that of the adoption of the proposition which it urges; for supposing that it were to be no further agitated, all further inquiry into the existence of corruption would be instantaneously checked, and the important, nay incalculable, advantages that must arise to the country from such necessary investigation would be suspended, by this notice of a motion of censure hanging up, in terrorem, over the head of a man whose extraordinary exertions have brought to light transactions so extraordinary, so disgraceful, and so incredible as they did appear, until actually and incontrovertibly proved. Of the transcendent merit of col. Wardle, and of the gratitude due to him from the People of England, such, my Lord, is my opinion, that I have no hesitation in avowing, that no reward

could have appeared to me too great to have been offered by a grateful people to a friend so true, so firm, and so devoted to the interest of his country. I am perfectly ready to admit that we have all political prejudices. At the same time it must be admitted, that in the degree of force and bigotry with which they operate on the human mind, the difference (in different men) is most important; and I cannot avoid remarking, that the worthy gentleman who gave the notice of this motion, has voted for very many measures that have had an undisguised tendency to bolster up the transactions of the administrations of the day; whether the ground has been substantial or otherwise, to him it seemed to matter not; he has certainly never hesitated to put the country to any expence, however great, which had for its object the support or gratification of the men to whom, for the time being, he deemed it prudent to give that support; but sorry I am to say, that for those patriotic exertions which have by the voices of a great majority of the people of the United Kingdom been most gratefully acknowledged, as of most essential benefit and importance to the vital interests of the nation, his name is not to be found in the list of those who have publicly expressed their gratitude. It has been very loudly urged by the few who are of a similar opinion with that of the worthy gentleman, that the late Trial at law appears to have implicated in its consequences the merits and character of col. Wardle; but I must positively deny that this circumstance, whatever it may have been, can form with us the smallest particle of matter for our consideration. Whether the imputation on the character of col. W. be true or false, this transaction can make no possible difference to us. It matters not a jot, and I would only ask any gentleman who now hears me, where we should have found any other man who would have undertaken that which col. W. not only undertook, but that in which he persevered with intrepidity and constancy unparalleled, and in the prosecution of which he sacrificed both his time and his property? The only point to which we have to look is the issue and effect of the Investigation. Now, as convincing proof of the charges made by Mr. W. being actually brought home to the party accused, it is certainly more immediately incumbent on us to give the strongest testimony in our power of the gratitude we feel, or ought to feel, towards col. W., than to be delibe-

rating whether he shall not be deprived of all the merit of his conduct. To those who can pretend to argue that a question of account between col. W. and any other person ought to form a subject for our consideration, I really deem it superfluous to make any reply. But, if the worthy gentleman was here to support his own proposition, I would certainly ask of him how it happened, in voting, at a vast expence, a Monument to Pitt, the well-known disregard of that Minister to all matters of personal expence, even to the total neglect of payment of all his tradesmen's Bills; that fact did not occur to the worthy gentleman as a reason for withholding so splendid and costly a testimony of approbation; and as the scrupulously delicate morality of the worthy gentleman is so extremely squeamish, and his regard for the improper distribution of the thanks of this court so accurately sensitive, it may, perhaps, with some, be a matter of no small surprize, that no foible in the private character and conduct of the great Nelson should have occurred to prevent the worthy gentleman from promoting, as he did most forwardly, the Monument voted by this Court, to the memory of that most illustrious character. But no objection in either of these instances was even hinted at by the worthy gentleman, whose sensitive part was probably at that moment asleep, but for which he might have sought in the private defects of the non-payment of his tradesmen's bills by the one, and in a suspected illicit connection by the other: precisely the same amount of objection as that which seems alone to form the basis of the motion, to rescind the Resolution passed by this Court for a Vote of Thanks to col. W.—I dare say the worthy gent. would think it somewhat extraordinary, if, upon his own grounds, a motion were to be now made to rescind the Resolutions, by which thanks were voted to Mr. Pitt and lord Nelson. It is in truth most remarkable, that in the present instance, where, from the exertions by a single individual, the country unquestionably derives advantages, tantamount to the greatest victory ever obtained either by sea or by land, the worthy gentleman's morality should be so suddenly awakened. In saying that the exertions of col. Wardle have been of equal importance with the greatest victory, I am convinced that I am perfectly correct; for if the success of the enemy depends on the final ruin of our resources, it is not possible to estimate the

advantages that must inevitably be derived from those exertions, which have so successfully tended to repress that corruption which has long been sapping the very vitals of the national resources; and most certain it is, that unless the enormous corruption that is now so irrefragably displayed in the broad face of day, be effectually checked, a country so circumstanced is in great danger of becoming finally an easy victory to an enemy.—Were any proof wanting of the effect of the exertions of col. W., the resignation of the Duke of York might satisfy the most incredulous, for by the evidence brought forward on the investigation, was that event produced. This, of itself, is a fact conclusive of the unquestionable merit of col. W. But the abuses that have been exposed by him in the patronage of the Church and in the Army, in the sale of Seats in Parliament, in the India House, and other departments, are so numerous, as to render argument on so glaring a subject wholly superfluous; and there can be little hesitation in the mind of any unprejudiced man, in admitting that the savings which might be made in the various branches of the prodigal, profuse expenditure of Government, would amount to a sum not inferior to that produced by the most obnoxious Tax to which a free country ever submitted; it is hardly necessary to say that I mean that most abominable, oppressive, and unjust (because unequal) of all taxes, the Income Tax. If we do but steadily persevere in that course of investigation and inquiry which the courageous exertions of col. W. have opened, advantages must ultimately result, which will produce incalculable amendment and amelioration in the condition of the country. Whether the gentleman who originally instigated this question, had it in view, by the carrying of his motion, to extinguish for ever all further inquiry, I will not take upon myself to say; but it is absolutely necessary to remove all doubt with the country, of what may be the sentiments of the Corporation of the City of London on so important an occasion. — Perhaps it may be presumed, that if he did flatter himself with the prospect of deriving any advantage from the carrying of this motion, it must have been that of stifling that effusion of thanks to col. W. which so many persons in this kingdom are yet extremely desirous of expressing.—My Lord, the Corporation of the City of London having a political character to maintain, and hav-

ing, for many years, thought it not only important, but indispensibly necessary, to attend to the measures of the Government, the people at large of this country, do indisputably look up to our decisions with very deep interest, and with most exceeding attention; and to our determination the country at this moment looks up with a degree of anxiety, fully proportioned to the magnitude of the occasion, and the importance of the crisis at which we have arrived: the country at large waits but for our determination to support col. W. of which, if once assured, we may certainly anticipate all that weight will be added to our efforts in the Reformation of Abuses, which can be given by the support of a vast majority of the people of the United Kingdom. That the Corporation will see, in its true light, the necessity of coming to a decision at this critical moment, I, for these reasons, anxiously hope and wish, although the original mover of the question, very contrary to my expectations and wishes, is now absent. With these views of this important subject, I shall now move an Amendment, on which, I trust, and indeed take it for granted, the Corporation will see the necessity of declaring their sentiments, by a positive decision; for inasmuch as an individual cannot be expected, without great support, to effect so Herculean a task, it will not be denied that it requires the united energies of all to co-operate with him in the arduous undertaking in which he has voluntarily and so nobly embarked, and if it shall be thought that we do require Reform, a Reformation of Abuses, certain I am, that ultimate safety can be obtained only by the exertion of that auxiliary assistance which col. W. necessarily requires for the accomplishment of those objects, of which every one professes most anxiously to desire the attainment.

[See the RESOLUTIONS at page 150.]

Mr. Box perfectly agreed in the propriety of coming to a decision on the question before the Court. He was ready to hold up his hand in favour of col. Wardle, and admitted that the late Trial had nothing to do with the question: the merit of col. W. he did not mean to depreciate; but at the same time, hoped the Court would reflect before it adopted the Resolutions which had been just read, for Resolutions so extensive in their application, ought, in his opinion, to have been made a distinct question for discussion. He thought it

quite improper that gentlemen should make this a party question, and sit in judgment on such high and exalted characters as Lord Castlereagh, and others, who have served their country for a number of years. [A loud laugh.]

Mr. GRIFFITH felt, that if ever there was a question which demanded the solemn decision of the Court, it was that which was before them. The gentleman who had just delivered his sentiments had talked of party; but he trusted there was but one party, and that party would maintain the government of the country; but, if in that government there should be found men who were a disgrace to the situations which they held, he, for one, felt it to be the duty of that Court, to express its disapprobation of their conduct.—He would ask whether Corruption had not, like a snail touched on the head, shrunk into its house? Would it be contended, that col. W. had not rendered the country most important services by the various inquiries which he had instituted, independent of the original investigation? Had he not exposed the shameful practice of selling Seats in Parliament? had he not exposed the disgraceful manner in which the patronage of the Directors of the East India Company had been disposed of? In short, had he not exposed practices of corruption all round us, and at almost every point. It must be acknowledged, and indeed, seemed to be admitted, by his friend behind him, who opposed the Resolutions of the worthy alderman, that col. Wardle had done a great deal for the country. Against that he had not yet heard a syllable, and his friend behind him had candidly admitted, that the Trial at law could not affect the merit of col. W. nor ought to have any effect upon the opinion of the Court. With respect to the introduction of the names of lord Castlereagh, Mr. Perceval, and others in high official situations, he, for his own part, thought that the higher the situations, the more necessary it became to have them filled with good servants; and certainly, in order to have good servants, it is necessary to look well after them. However high might be the situations which these men filled, he saw no reason why they should not look them in the face, and tell them of their misconduct. That man who pays the enormous rates and taxes under which we labour, and twenty shillings in the pound, ought to hand down to posterity, untarnished, those

rights and liberties which were the pride and boast of Englishmen. On all occasions his fellow-citizens might look to him as a supporter of their rights, and certainly should never look to him in vain. He would, at all times, boldly censure the high and the mighty when they deserved it, and protect, to the utmost of his ability, the weak and needy.

Mr. WAITHMAN.—Although I do not think that any arguments can be necessary to induce the Court to adopt the Resolutions of the worthy alderman, yet having taken an active part in the discussion when that Vote of Thanks to col. Wardle was passed, which it is the object of the present motion to rescind, and having had the honour of bringing forward a similar Vote of Thanks on other occasions, I cannot suffer the proposition that is now before the Court to pass without observation. I regret, exceedingly, that the gentleman who gave the notice of this motion has not thought fit to attend, and give his reasons to the Court for that extraordinary notice. But his having thus shrunk from the discussion, certainly betrays a consciousness of a want of argument to support his motion. I do not feel it necessary, or indeed possible, to say so much on this important subject in the absence of that gentleman; for were he present, I might say some things that possibly would be very unpleasant, and which I really know not how to say in his absence. Yet, I trust that I may be justified in examining the conduct of that gentleman, though absent; and of inferring from that conduct such motives as it may fairly appear to warrant. I have not the smallest hesitation in now asserting that which I would certainly do to his face if he were present; that he has stated that which is not true; namely, that he gave notice of bringing forward this motion after the adjournment; for there is no such thing as an adjournment of this Court. True it is, that for the general convenience of its members, it has at certain periods of the year been omitted to be called together; but I have never known an instance in which even one whole month has elapsed without this Court being called together. I have indeed more than once found that those who happened to have the ear of the Lord Mayor for the time being, take advantage of the interest they had with his lordship to get a convenient day appointed, in order to smuggle through certain propositions of their own. But, my

lord, with respect to the question now before the Court, I must take the liberty of remarking, that the gentleman who gave the notice of this motion must surely be the very pattern and quintessence of morality, since he deems the alledged breach of a pecuniary engagement by col. Wardle of sufficient importance absolutely to damn the whole merit to which he is unquestionably entitled, from his great and meritorious exertions; and not contented with entertaining, as an individual, an abstract notion so extraordinary, he modestly calls upon the Corporation of the City of London, on no better ground than this, to rescind its own act, passed in a very full attendance of this Court, and after having undergone a serious and very interesting discussion. My Lord, the gentleman opposite to me (Mr. Knox), at the same time that he admits, with great readiness, that the Trial has nothing to do with the question of col. Wardle's merits, thinks the Resolutions proposed by the worthy alderman too harsh in censuring the conduct of that high and exalted personage, who has served the country so long, Lord Castlereagh and also others; and this he makes the stalking horse of his opposition; but that trick I have seen too often played off to be for one moment deluded by it, and so well, indeed, am I aware of this species of stratagem, that I even signified my suspicions before I came into court, that such a trick would be attempted by those who acted with the gentleman who gave the notice of the motion now before the Court. By way of illustration of the habits of that gentleman, I shall state a fact: That gentleman (Mr. Dixon) himself came to me not long after the Trial, in which col. Wardle was interested, took place, and condoled most piteously on the piteous situation to which col. Wardle was reduced. "Oh!" says the gentleman, "What a sad sad business is this! You can't think, Mr. Waithman, how it hurts me. Indeed I am so hurt! And, besides, what shall we do, you know we can't let the Thanks to him stand on the Votes now. Oh! I am so hurt about this business you can't think!!!" With this cant and hypocrisy he not only tried me, but he tried the Court all round, and at length, discovering that it would not do, he silently shrunk from the attempt for that time. And this is not the only time that that gentleman has resorted to the cant of hypocrisy to carry on his designs, for I re-

member his coming to me on the occasion of a motion of Mr. Birch. "Lord," says he, "what a foolish motion is this of Birch 'about No Popery'!! I do assert that he came to my house in the manner I have described. From his conversation I soon discovered that he had been with the ministry. He, however, assured me, that we should 'certainly negative Birch's 'foolish motion,' and away he went, leaving me in the full persuasion he felt much anxiety to negative Mr. Birch's 'foolish motion about No Popery;' and yet did this very gentleman afterwards actually vote on the same side with Mr. Birch in favour of his 'foolish motion.' But, notwithstanding these miserable shifts of canting hypocrisy, I will ask those who are now present, whether, in any single instance, this gentleman has expressed the slightest degree of satisfaction at that discovery of abuses which gave to every true friend of his country, the gratifying prospect of a correction of the lavish expenditure of the public money? I remember not even a solitary instance in which he has expressed any satisfaction at any such discovery of public abuses and corruptions. That this apathy is not confined to that gentleman, was abundantly clear, from the expressions used by other gentlemen in a former discussion. At that time they arrogated merit to themselves for their forbearance to oppose the measure under their consideration. "We 'have made,' say they, 'no opposition to 'the vote of thanks to col. Wardle, but 'we object to ministerial threats, and to 'declaring that the D. of Y. was unworthy of his situation.'" Such is the spirit by which those gentlemen are actuated; and I have felt conviction from repeated observations, that upon any question having for its object the correction of public abuses, it was madness to look for the support or co-operation of any contractor, pensioner, placeman, or place-hunter.—[Hear! hear!] In no instance when such a question is brought forward, do the gentleman, and those who act with him, omit to burst out into the old cry, that it is a mere party question, which is quite a wrong thing to agitate—quite improper for gentlemen to bring forward party matters. Is there then, it may be asked, a party to support corruption? In truth, if we may judge of the conduct of the public prints, such might be the infer-

ence; for all those newspapers, with very few exceptions, which during the investigation supported and commended the laudable exertions of col. Wardle, have suddenly abandoned him, for no other reason as it should seem, but that the tendency of his measures to destroy corruption, has, at the same time, an ultimate tendency to destroy the influence of both the parties in this country, the Outs as well as the Ins. The notice of this motion, I cannot but consider in any point of view as most improper; and as neither the gentleman who gave that notice, nor any other gentleman on his behalf, has thought proper to bring forward the question, I am decidedly of opinion, that such notice ought to be expunged from the record of our proceedings.—We are now called upon to enter into a consideration of circumstances, that have occurred subsequently to the Vote of Thanks, which was passed by this court to col. Wardle, on whose conduct we are required to sit in judgment, and, seriously weighing all the circumstances that make both for and against him, to express our opinion of his conduct. It will be recollected, that when col. Wardle first brought forward his charges in the House of Commons, he had not, out of the whole body of the members composing that assembly, the active support of one single individual. The difficulty and endless trouble of detecting and substantiating the existence of abuses, I happened to be personally enabled to appreciate very correctly; for in the discovery and exposure of the enormous abuses that have been practised in Christ's Hospital, I did incur a degree of trouble, labour, and anxiety, the extent of which was beyond what I could have expected to have been possible; and after all my exertions, instead of receiving the thanks of those whom it was the object of my exertions to benefit, what did I meet with? obloquy, persecution, and misrepresentation; nay, the Vicar himself has not scrupled to represent me as an enemy to all religious and political establishments. That this gentleman has so many motives for feeling sore at the institution of inquiry into Public Abuses, I did not know, until I accidentally discovered that his brother-in-law actually enjoys a pension of no less than 1,700*l.* per annum for life, [Hear! hear!] so that, between the Vicar and his brother-in-law, there are no trifling interests to protect.—(To be continued.)